

SPRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

General Butler and Richard H. Dana.

Two questions are at the present moment presented to the voters of the Fifth Massachusetts district for decision. The first is whether they approve of the Chicago platform, which promises the faithful payment of the national debt, and denounces all forms of repudiation as national crimes, and the Massachusetts platform, which still more explicitly calls for payment of that debt in gold or silver; or whether they approve of the policy which was announced by Pendleton, and caught up and perfected by Butler. The second is whether, on the whole, they think Butler or Dana the fitter man to represent them during the next two years in Congress; for they are to decide which of the two men, judging from their past history and present reputations, is the proper representative of the honest patriotism of the Essex district.

The history of General Butler, so far as it concerns Republicans, began with his abandonment of the Democratic party in 1861, and his bold march through Baltimore, after the April massacre, to the defense of Washington. For leaving the Democrats he deserves credit as a sagacious man; for his march, as a brave one. His subsequent administration at New Orleans was energetic and productive of good practical results, though it may fairly be questioned whether the odium he incurred through the charges of peculation against his brother, charges which have never been refuted—against a man whose property General Butler has inherited—did not offset any advantage to the United States gained by a reign of order in a rebellious city. At any rate here his success ended; his whole later career has been one of failure. His fiasco at Fort Fisher rendered him the laughing-stock of all military men, and had surprise and rout before the gates of Richmond drew down upon him the calm but stinging blame of his commanding general.

The termination of the war found him one of many political generals who had proved to the country by their total want of success the absolute necessity of knowing something about war before waging it. Since the war, he has attempted three important things: to remove the President by impeachment, to have the debt repudiated; and to have the bonds taxed. Of the first we will now say only this, that impeachment failed, and with impeachment failed General Butler. In the second he had the audacity to adopt the nefarious scheme of a Democratic politician; to adopt it in the teeth of the promises of an administration of which he had been a supporter; and, further, he had the misfortune to have his plan denounced by his own party as a crime. His latest, and we hope his final, political act was to endeavor to persuade Congress to deprive the bondholders of part of the lawful pledged interest of their securities; and in this, too, he failed. On the strength of these failures he now requests the electors of Essex to send him back to Congress.

Mr. Dana is a gentleman of the highest standing in his State, of great influence in the Republican party. More than this, he was a Free-Seller in the days when to be a Free-Seller was to run the danger of personal violence from pro-slavery mobs. He has twice served in the Massachusetts House with great distinction, and recently at Worcester has done the Republican party a greater service than often falls to the lot of one man to accomplish. To the Worcester Convention two prominent men were sent—as it turned out to do the same work they are soon to repeat in the Fifth District—to struggle for the leadership of the Republican party, to struggle for the possession of its conscience, on the one side, and of good faith, on the other, of good faith.

General Butler went to Worcester to obtain for his friend, Dr. Loring, a recently-converted Democrat, the Governorship of Massachusetts, and to procure silence on all questions connected with the debt. Mr. Dana went there to oppose him. The result was two new failures on the part of General Butler: he was obliged with his own voice to withdraw Dr. Loring, and to bear the disappointment of hearing William Claflin nominated in his stead by acclamation. He was obliged to listen to the reading and to acquiesce in the passage of a resolution introduced by Mr. Dana, as chairman of the committee, promising the payment of the five-twenties in "gold and silver." He left Worcester a beaten man. He has occupied his time since that in attempting to defame men of established reputation, and in manufacturing an extract from the Chicago platform, which he had the recklessness to introduce into a written speech delivered before the Essex Nominating Convention, and which was shown to be of his own composition by the papers of the next day.

But, personal considerations of past success and probable future service apart, there remains the general question of the national credit. We conceive that Mr. Dana, in accepting the nomination offered him by some of the best men in the Fifth district, will perform an act which will please all honest Republicans throughout the country; for though Mr. Butler has repeatedly failed, his attacks damage the cause almost as much as victories. This is no narrow question of district politics; the interests involved are not confined within the bounds even of a State. It is a matter of national importance that General Butler should again be defeated, as he was at Worcester, by the honest ability of Mr. Dana.

Suppose a Democratic Success—What Then?

From the N. Y. Times. The desire of the more cautious Democrats to be absolved from the responsibility fastened upon the party by the Blair letter, indorsed by the New York Convention, has led to various suggestions as to the method by which reconstruction may be peaceably overthrown. The World is the type of a very small class who accept the dogma that the acts of Congress are null and void, but who nevertheless protest that their abrogation may be effected quietly, without the employment of force. They insist on separating the document which explains the platform from the platform itself, and on holding up an imaginary Blair instead of the outspoken personage whom the convention nominated. They are sensible enough to evade specific questions, and to confine themselves to assertions without a particle of evidence to sustain them.

Mr. Stanbery's candor prompted him to attempt an explanation of a constitutional modus operandi, which would break down at the vital point of the controversy. He requires, as the preliminaries to the setting aside of reconstruction, a Democratic President, a Democratic House of Representatives, and a Democratic Senate. Let these be obtained, he says, and all will be right. But will it be right, in the Democratic sense, even then? The repeal of the Reconstruction acts will be ineffectual, for they will have fulfilled their purpose. The exclusion of Southern Senators and Representatives will not affect the existence of the local

governments on rights held under the authority of the local constitutions. Colored suffrage will continue an established fact. The real obstacles to the destruction of the new order of things will remain as formidable as at this moment.

Yet another suggestion associates the election of Seymour with some mysterious assertion of power by the Supreme Court. With Seymour as President the Albany Argus contends, Chief Justice Chase will "at one breath clear away the cloud that has rested over the Executive, the Congress, and the States." How the miracle is to be wrought, the Argus does not explain. The opinion of the Supreme Court as to the constitutionality of the Reconstruction acts is matter only of conjecture. This, however, is known: That in the judgment of the Chief Justice the Fourteenth amendment is a part of the Constitution, and therefore binding upon the States, whatever fate befall the Reconstruction acts. Besides, the new Governments, being recognized by Congress, will not be touched by the Supreme Court in any event, nor will any opinion in regard to the constitutionality of any particular link in the chain of reconstruction induce a surrender by the enfranchised freedmen of the power they now wield.

Evidently, then, these more moderate explanations of the Democratic policy are defective precisely where they are required to be strongest. They do not touch the governing facts of the case. They leave the realities of reconstruction solid as ever—the executives, the legislatures, the voting body all as they are now. If, as the World asserts, reconstruction may be undone by and through these instrumentalities, the result promised by the Democrats becomes remote indeed, for this theory presupposes the readiness of the colored people to disfranchise themselves, and to invest with absolute power the men who declare them permanently inferior and subordinate.

Hence the favor with which General Blair's proposition is regarded by the great body of the Democrats. They have no patience for the sophisms and nice distinctions with which the doctrinaires of the party encumber the reconstruction controversy. They have made up their minds to destroy the work of Congress, and tolerate only those means of accomplishing it which commend themselves as direct and certain. The Blair programme is the one that satisfies this requirement. The intervention of the Supreme Court, and the slow process of change by methods prescribed by the new Constitutions, fall short of the standard. Blair hit it with his letter. Discarding circumlocution, despising false pretences, he proposes simple revolution. Seymour is to play the usurper, and by sheer force clear away the results of reconstruction. The Governments, the officials, the colored voters, are all to be swept aside. The mere will of the Democratic party is to determine the meaning of the Constitution, the rights of the States, and the absolute authority of whites over blacks. This programme unquestionably involves violence, disturbance, and insurrection. It is, however, the only programme which found favor in the eyes of the New York Convention, for though revolutionary, it is logical, consistent, and effective.

Now let us contrast the Blair programme, supposing a Democratic triumph in November. Let us assume the election of Seymour, and the ability of the Democratic party to grapple with the issue raised by their platform. The assumption is extravagant, and, in fact, possible only by the Blair method. There is no possibility of controlling the next Congress, or the Senate for years to come, and therefore no possibility of adopting the constitutional plan proposed by Mr. Stanbery. There must be usurpation on the part of the President, and revolution, or the war upon reconstruction will end. To understand fully the dilemma of the Democrats, however, it is necessary to look beyond these obstacles, to throw aside all probabilities, and to bring the party face to face with the responsibilities attendant upon success.

What would then occur? Reconstruction is to be overthrown because unconstitutional, and therefore, in Democratic parlance, null and void. What do they propose as its substitute? These new governments are to be set aside to make room for the governments which preceded them. The present officials are to be dismissed, and those whom Congress legislated out of office reinstated. The existing suffrage-basis is to give way to the basis which Congress demolished. But the governments which are to be thus re-established—the system which is to be thus revived—were not only without a shadow of constitutional authority. They were the products of Mr. Andrew Johnson's exercise of authority. By a mere executive order, without a shadow of legal sanction, he destroyed the then existing Rebel governments, prescribed the terms and manner of their reorganization, dictated the qualifications of electors and officials, and the amendments to the State Constitutions, and, in fact, did all, without warrant of law, which Congress has ever proposed to do through the law. When, therefore, the Democrats propose to destroy the existing State organizations of Mr. Johnson, they propose to do away with the results of law and to revive the results of Executive usurpation. The organizations they favor never had a pretense of constitutionality. But they were in the interest of the Rebels, and that alone explains the preference. The outcry about constitutionality is a sham. They are anxious only to restore Rebel influences to power. Provided this be done, they are as indifferent to the Constitution as to the rights of the millions over whom Mr. Johnson's governments tyrannized.

General McClellan.

From the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser. "We learn that General McClellan has written a letter to the Committee of Arrangements for the great Democratic meeting in Union Square, declining to be named as a speaker, and to preside on that occasion. He has also refused a Democratic ovation in Brooklyn. Moreover, he consented to receive the magnificent demonstration in his honor last Friday evening only on condition that it should not bear a political character, and we have reason for believing that he was not pleased with the partisan badges and emblems of many of the clubs which took part in the vast procession."

The above is corroborative of testimony received by the Commercial on Thursday last. It indicates that General McClellan has certainly no active sympathy with the Seymour-Blair party. A gentleman on intimate terms with him asserts that "Little Mac" will, if he votes at all, vote for Grant, to whom he alludes as an old, warm, and personal friend, and deserving of the highest honors from his countrymen. General McClellan never planted himself upon the Chicago "failure" platform of 1864. On the contrary, he was only ignored but repudiated in his letter of acceptance, and ran on his own popularity. During the canvass he made no efforts to promote his own election, and he has since stated that he would not for fifty Presidential chairs subject himself to the annoyance and almost humiliation which he experienced from Democratic leaders during the contest of 1864.

Whatever may then have been his views in regard to the conduct of the war, we do not believe that he now entertains any sympathy for the revolutionary Blair, who, together with his backers, Forrest, Wade Hampton, Vance, Wise, et al., holdily announce their purpose

and determination to overthrow Congress and the "Congressional usurpations" at the South with the bayonet. Like General Dix, he is doubtless a war Democrat, and he should now, like the former, publicly pronounce for General Grant. Such a course would not only commend him to the esteem, friendship, and admiration of the loyal of the land, but exercise a most salutary influence upon the unrepresentative Rebels, who have claimed him as one of themselves, and who are now so rampant for a renewal of the strife. Few men have been vouchsafed the opportunity which is now presented to General McClellan for dispelling whatever prejudices may have been entertained among the loyal towards him, and for endearing himself to those who saved the Republic.

How the Orleans Princes Plunked the Police Princes.

The following details reach us from Baden:—The presence of the Princes of the House of Orleans has excited here a considerable amount of curiosity; but they have lived exclusively within their own circle of private friends. Yet it has been noticed that, in the neighborhood of their residence, and even within its precincts, some very mysterious-looking personages might be seen, to use a vulgar expression, "hanging about." These gentlemen were constantly wandering up and down the Lichtenberg Avenue and especially to be seen on the lifeless race-course.

So constant were they in their attendance on the Princes that the presence became the subject of constant remark. One evening the Princes and some of their friends happened to be at dinner beneath the glazed enclosure which surrounds the peristyle of Stephaniau Bade, they amused themselves by catching a posse of their pensivants. "Messeigneurs," said one of the Princes to his companions, "let us pretend to rise and drink a toast, and you will see how eagerly they will rush to hear what we shall not say." His proposal was accepted, and on a certain signal the whole party rose. The Princes' words were verified, the effect on the mysterious listeners was very much that of a plate of honey on a swarm of bees. The Count of Paris immediately went to the door, and said, "Gentlemen, if you wish to hear what we are saying, pray come in," which invitation, naturally, was not accepted. The listeners, however, did not move, little guessing the trap into which they had fallen. A photographic apparatus having been previously set up in the corner of the dining-room, as directed on the entrance door, and while the count was inviting those nearest to enter, the objective was uncovered and their portraits instantaneously taken. Several proofs have been struck, and will serve as a useful warning to the Princes in future times.

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